A MANIFESTO

Declaring

hat *George Biſhope* hath been to the y of *Briſtoll*, and the *particular* Perſons w in *Authority* therein, and what *Hee* hath ived from *Them* in RECOMPENCE.

Occaſioned

BY THE

Sentence of *Baniſhment* Pronoun- d upon *Him* by *Them*, 16th. 7th. *Mon.* 1665 and *other* uſeages for *his* Conſcience to *God*.

---

y *GEORGE BISHOPE.*

I have I ſeen, and applyed my heart unto every work that is done under the Sun. There is a time wherein one man ruleth over another to his own hurt. And ſo I ſaw the wicked buried who had come, and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the City where they had done. This is alſo vanity. Eccleſ. 8. 9, 10, 11.

Printed in the Year, 1665.

A MANIFESTO

Declaring

Occasioned

A MANIFESTO, &c.

I Ever bore a *Natural* love to the *City* of *Briſtol*, the place of *my* Nativity, and as opportunity, and *my* underſtanding gave *me* leave, *I* ſtill improv'd *it* for the advantage thereof. I was very young when the Differences began between the *Late* King, and the *Parliament*, yet *I* inclined to the *Parliament*, as thoſe unto whom drew the *more* ſober people of the *Nation*, which had ſome influence upon *me*; the fear of the Lord being with *me* from a Child.

When the *City* was taken by *Prince Rupert* I was there, and marched out with the *Parliament*'s Forces, and returned again when the *City* was retaken by the *Parliament*.

Being come to *Briſtol*, and ſetled there again, *I* made it *my* buſineſs what in *me* lay, to advantage the *Good* thereof, and in the firſt place wrought what *I* could for the procuring of a *Friendly* Governour, that ſo the place which had been *miſerably* torn with *Wars* and *factions*, might have ſome *reliefs*, and that the neceſſities thereof might ariſe in a *calme* and *friendly* favour above the *terrility* that was over it through the *harſhneſs* of the rough ſtorms that had compaſſed it about, and my endeavours herein were not without ſucceſs, for they produced Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* (a man as much to the purpoſe as could be deſired) to be appointed *Governour*.

In the *next* place in regard the *City* had been for ſometime before *ſorely* viſited with the *Plague*, and there died now upwards of *One* hundred a *Week*, and the well and the ſick were *promiſcuouſly* together by reaſon of the *Leagure*; *I* endeavoured the ſeperation of the *Sick* from the *Well* in places convenient, and where the *ſtreets* or *parts* were generally infected, Watchmen were ſet to keep them in, which with *other* endeavours *then* uſed, through the *goodneſs* of the *Lord* ſoon ceaſed the *Contagion* in *that* place.

Thirdly, In regard that the *City* and the Country adjacent had been much haraſſed by reaſon of the *Leagure*, and the *other* attendancies of *War*, *I* procured an *Order* from General *Fairfax* that

no Forces but those of the *Garrison* should quarter *in*, or abou
the *City* for the space of *six miles*, which gave the *City* and th
Country in particular, much *relief*, who came thereby to be free
from the *hard* Quartering of the *Regiments*, and *other* Forces de
signed for *Ireland*, which long lay in the *Country* before *they* wer
imbarqu'd.

These things in *their* time put the *City* into a *wholsome* and
posture, and *unity*, and *love* seemed to *spring* therein, and *men*
gan to forget the *old* Engagements wherein *they* had been *mut*
exercised to the *detriment* of each *other*, and to apply *themselves*
things that concern'd their *Own*, and the *good* of *each* other;
I may truly say, and *I* suppose there are *yet* alive *those* who can bea
me testimony therein, that in a *Moneths* space after the Reducin
thereof, there was such a *Metamorphosis* as had been *scarcely* see
during the *Warrs* in this *Nation*; and *great* pitty it was (and I m
sure it was exercise enough to *me* to see the contrary, as after-
wards *I* found, and therefore opposed that which gave it, as th
sequel manifests;) that ever it should be turned into *Winter* again
and those *storms* brought over it, which had *neer* laid it in the *dus*
I am sure endeavours were not wanting in *me* according to m
Capacity, and as *I* had opportunity to turn it aside, which pro-
duced that which is part of the *ensuing* Relation, in recompence
of which some of *my* Neighbours, fellow *Citizens* and *Countrym*
thus concern'd, as the *Relation* makes manifest, have thought fi
to place *Banishment* upon *me*, and *other* usages, barely *for my* Co
science to *God*, as to *his Worship*, who is a *spirit*, and will be wo
shipped in *spirit* and in *truth*, as the *Frontispiece* of *this Relation*, o
Manifesto instances it; of which I shall in order speak.

Long was not the *day* of this fair *Sun* shine, and promisi
Prosperity of *Bristol*, there was an eye that saw it, and did envy it
and therefore attempted to hinder the progress thereof, whi
was (as it were) the *Morning*, and so drew a *Cloud* over it; Co
Charles Fleetwood though a person without exception (as then
saving that *his* spirit seemed to some who looked a *squint*, too
dulgent, *he* favouring more of *Unity* then *Division*, rather
heal then *widen* Differences that had been, though as to *his*
Capacity *he* was known to be *both* vigilant and stout, was
weeks time unworthily laid aside, and *M. G. Skippon* by the so
licitation of some of *this* place above, who had little known
sharp

sharpest of *Swords*, or the the *brunt* of the *Battel*, was placed in his *head*, and *they* themselves in the Capacity of doing what *they* pleased, being with *their* Favourites and Relations most of *them* installed the *men* of the *Committee* therein; who (with the *new* Governour) not long after came down to the *City*.

Now the *state* of the *City* began to alter, and another *face* to appear upon it: Those of the *contrary* part who thought *they* had bought *their* peace in *their* large proportion of 60000*l.* raised, and given as a *free* contribution to the *Army* for *their* tenderness to the *City*, and general forbearance to *Plunder*, and to be secure in the *Articles* of *Surrender*, were called upon to pay *their* 5*th.* and 20*th.* parts, and after sometime summon'd to *Composition*, or *Sequestration*; In order whereunto Witnesses were examined as to what *they* had done during the being of the *Forces* of the *contrary* part in the *City*, on the *one* hand, and on the *other* Ald. *Humphry Hook*, and *several* others of the *Councel* to the number of Thirteen, were removed by a *Vote* of the *Lords* and *Commons*, which were the *Committee* for the West, without being called to answer, or any due or *legal* conviction, through the instigation of *those* who *so* carried things below as aforesaid. And Alderm. *Francis Creswick* who was chosen *Mayor* after the *City* was reduced; Notwithstanding that *he* carried things without exception was put *out* also, and *another* put in who had acted foot for foot the *same* that Alderman *Creswick* had done when the *contrary* part had the *City* meerly out of Faction, to serve a *private* and a *particular* Interest: For Alderman *Hooks* abilities being well known to far exceed in the *Governance* of the *City* any of *those* who *now* seemed to bear the *day*; *he* must be removed, and *those* who were more related and seemed to adhere to *him*, because otherwise that *Faction* must vaile in the *City*. And *here* began that *unhappy* encounter which gave *much* sorrow and trouble in the *City*, and to me much travel. For the rest of the *Councel* were men that had been acting in the *same* day, the *same* things; yet *they* were kept in, and these were put out; as *hereafter* is mentioned.

These proceedings were an *abomination* to *me*, and I hated them exceedingly, the rather because *I* saw it was not *so* much for the advancement of the *Interest* unto which *they* pretended, as indeed for the seting up of a *particular* Party, or *Faction*, the progress, and issue of which hath tended to the *undoing* of the *City*;

For

For *all* things hitherto were carried, and whatsoever was the pretence to the contrary; yet all concentred here, that is to say, the *private* Comodity, and *advantage* of some particular persons, who as *Horsleeches* sucked the *breasts* of the *opportunity* to serve their purpose, dividing the *City* into *Factions* for that end under the pretence of the *Publique*.

I hated *also* to see that *almost* intollerable *Oppression*, viz. some of *those* very persons who in the *former* day had *conjointly* acted, and with as much *seeming* zeal for the *Interest* then on foot, now to sit in the *Committee* as *Judges* of *those* who with them had acted the *same* thing. To speak plainly, to see *Cavileer* in shew sitting in *Judgment* upon *Cavileer* for the *same* things done *jointly* by *quatenus* & *quando Cavileers*, and to behold the *body* of the *Counsil* who together as *one* man strenuously appeared for the *Interest* of the *King* to be reserved as well affected to the *Parliament* (for to the exclusion spake) and to act as *such*, when *Alderman Hook*, and those with *him* were ejected the *Counsil*; for having done the *same* did smell *so* ranck of a *Faction* that it was manifest that it was not because the *Parliaments* Interest was in danger of being dammified, if *he* and *they* had been continued, but that *some* of *those* who now rose up to bear the *day* over *them*, conceived *themselves* in danger by reason of *him*, and *them* to be overtopt, that is to say, that not *themselves* but *he* and *them* would rule the *City*, though for the *Parliament*; so that the ground of that *ill favoured* (though called) Reformation was, that *themselves* might bear the *sway*; not that *they themselves* had been together bearing the *sway* for the *Interest* of the *King*. And *I* appeal to *those* judicious unbiassed *men* whom the *Faction* swayed not, who then minded *those* transactions as *they* then were, and have since observed the issue of *those* things, whether the *measure I* have given be not the *Diameter* of those Proceedings.

I say *I* hated *these* things, and *they* were an abomination to *me*; and as *I* did upon *all* opportunities bear *my* Testimony against *them*, soe which *they* sat in opposition to *me*, so *I* endeavoured to outwork *them*, and the *whole* Interest; and the Understanding *I* had *I* made use of to counterwork, at least, to obviate the issue of *those* things, which I saw must needs be the *Natural* effect: If in all *these* things *they prospered*, viz. the ruine of the *City*, & the *particular* persons therein that were *men* of *Estates*, whom the enterchanges

of

of the *former* day had brought into the *capacity* of *Sequestration*. In the prosecution of which *I* met with *many* notable and *great* Encounters (as what follows will in *part* make manifest) which were *they* to be attempted with money, could not have been purchased of *me* at *any* rate. For the *Obstructions* I met with, the *length* of *time*, the most tedious waitings and *Disappointments* were such that (*I* speak in *truth* of heart) *no* such consideration could have wrought *me* over thereunto. Nevertheless *I* set *my* self to it, and though *Young* (as *I* have said) and not having many to joyne with *me*, *I* mean such as would make it *their* business to tug in *such* a matter, yet *I* was determined in the *thing*, and in the consequence, obtained *that* which is *some* ground of *this* Relation.

General Fairfax being *near* about the *City*, and the *head* Quarters of the *Army* at *Bath*, in the year 1646. after the *first* Warrs were over, some of the *men* oppressed as aforesaid foreseeing what was coming upon *them*, applyed *themselves* to the *General* by *Petition*, concerning the *Interpretation* of the *Articles* of *Surrender*, hoping thereby to *stemm*, if it might be the *flood* of *Sequestration* that was coming upon *them*; who in a *Letter* to the *Parliament*, gave *his* sence to *this* effect, viz. That he intended by the fourth *Article* (which was that unto which *they* had particular resort) as *much* saving to the *Corporation*, and the particular *persons* concern'd therein as was in *his* power to grant. Which was as *much* as could be expected at *his* hands, considering the state *he* and the *Army* stood in at *that* time; (*Sc.*) as being thought in *Principle* and *otherwise* as to *Religion*, not in order to *that* Reformation which *those then* in *Power* thought to settle in the *Nation*.

I was at *Bath* when *this* thing was in *agitation*, and I helped it forward with the *General* Officers what I could, on whom I had an influence, but it accomplisht nothing, for *it* was not made use of. So things stood in reference to *this* as before, and *they* lay objected to as much mischief as those that rose against *them*, were able to do unto *them*, and *their* Disease was yet without a Remedy. And indeed, *this* matter sprang of *themselves* through the opportunity of *some* friend of *Alderman Hooks*, who accomplished it with the *General*; which nevertheless was assisted by the *General Officers*, whose agitation therein was not altogether useless; *their* concurrence being something to the *General* therein; with whom *I* had to do as aforesaid. Nor was it altogether unnecessary, for there-

by

by *they* came to be *ſo* informed in the *ſtate* of *Affairs* as to Bright, and to be brought into *ſuch* a ſence, that for *ever* afterwards they aſſiſted the *good* and *benefit* of the *City* what lay in *their* power. And indeed without *them* the things that were *afterwards* could not have been affected, for *their* valour and ſucceſs gave *them* to be *ſomething* in the ordring of *Affairs* of *this* nature, eſpecially where *their* Swords had led the way thereunto, and wherein *their* honour as Souldiers was engaged in point of *Articles*.

And here *I laid* the *ſtreſs* of the *matter*, *viz.* upon the *Army*, and *thoſe* who were with *them* in the *Parliament*, and *Council*, and *other* places of Concernment in the *Nation*; and the *Others* placed *their* Oppoſition againſt *me* in the *Intereſt* that was *contrary*; and ſo the *ſtrugg* became hard; the *chiefeſt* Men in *Power* in *England* then on *both* ſides being concern'd in the *matter*, and ſo *it* roſe, and fell as the *Intereſts* proſper'd, who, in *other* things as well as *this*, had the *Competition*. Nor could *I* tell where better to place *it* then ſo, *viz.* In the *hands* of *thoſe* who had the *Sword* in *their* hands, whoſe buſineſs it was (as *I* have ſaid) *moſt* properly, and *naturally* to ſee *it* brought to paſs; who were *beſt* able; who if *they* fell, the *thing* muſt, but in *their* ſtanding, which was the *moſt* likely of the *two*, a *Man* might *reaſonably* promiſe to *himſelf* the *greateſt* proſperity.

So *things* ſtood, and ſo *they* were placed, and *here* began the *Engagement* in the *matter*. *I* was conſidering with *my* ſelf the condition of the *City*; how *low* it was brought by reaſon of the *Warres*, how it was a *Port* Town; how the *preſent* Men that were of *Eſtates* were (moſtly) the *contrary* party; or *ſuch* whom the *Rules* of *Sequeſtration*, if *ſtrictly* laid, would take hold of, as having had to do in *things* that by the *Parliaments* Orders were *Sequeſtrable*; or would make *them* liable ſo to be; how the *Sequeſtration* of *them* would be in a *manner* as a *Statute* of *Banquerotiſme*, how *one* way, or *another*, all the *Inhabitants*, and *Citizens* that had been *there* whileſt the *City* was not taken, were in the *capacity* of *Sequeſtration*; how the *noiſe* of *this* would ſpoile *their* Reputation (eſpecially the *Merchants*) in *Forraigne* Parts, and *their* Bills would be worth *nothing*; how that *Trade* hereby would fall, and being *once* loſt or fallen into the *Londoners* hands (who watch't for it) would not *eaſily*, if *at all*, be recovered; how that the *Conſequence* would be matter of ſorrow *hereafter* not to

be

be recovered; therefore *I* bestir'd *my self*; and seeing that on this foot matters stood, and *clearly* too, in *my* understanding; *I* resolved to do the *part* of a *Native*, and *Citizen*, the *Son* of a *Freeman*; *One* that was *Free-borne*; and rather to hazard *my self* in the issue, then *that* thorough *any* failer of *mine*, the *City* should fall not to be recovered. And so *mine* own *natural*, and (*I* may say) *Native* love to the *City*, in which *I* first drew *breath* in *such* considerations as *these* prompted *me* (not *any* other, of *Person* whatsoever, for it arose in *mine* own breast) to what *I* afterwards undertook, & perfected; as by, and by shall be *made* manifest.

The *Committee* going on in *their* Examinations for *Sequestration*, notwithstanding *their* exacting the 5*th*. and 20*th*. part, *I* made it *my* business what *I* could to take off *their* edge, and so wrought with *some* particular *persons*, as (to give *them their* due) *they* took things so into consideration that *they* proceeded with *no* one effectually in *this* matter, but suffered *things* to fall, and the heat by *Degrees*, as the *matters* of *consideration* took place, and *they* had leisure to receive *them*; yet this was not *presently* nor at *once*, that they so did but *they* held it on as *they* pleased, and *no one* was certain, (no not *they themselves* who were more moderate amongst *them*) whether *they* should so hold the matter among *themselves*, or whether *they* should not otherwise be compell'd thereunto, because the *Oath* of *Committee*-men seemed to oblige *them* to the *contrary*.

In the mean time whil'st *things* lay *thus* in suspence, neither *done* nor *undone*, but in *probability*, *my* travel was *still* continued upon *me*, and *my* cares were least some *sudden* slip might effect it, therefore *I* carried a *wary* eye on every hand, least the *thing* being *once* done, it should be *past* recovery.

Therefore when the *Election* for *Burgesses* to sit in *Parliament* came to be, *I* endeavoured what *I* could the bringing into *Election* Col. *Charles Fleetwood* aforesaid, because *he* was a *man* of *Moderation* and *Interest*, and probably in the *House* might best serve the *advantage* of the *City*, whose condition was *now* brought *very* low; at least *he* might serve for the turning by of *that* rigidity, which by the means of the *Instigation* of *some*, might produce a *Sequestration*. For *I* knew right well that if *things* in the *fountain* were not stopt as well as in the *stream*, what was done, or might be as to the *stream*, might signifie *little*. And the *rather* minded *I* this thing, because *those* who on the *other* hand drove on the E-

Election, ſought to elect, (and in the iſſue carried it, tho ugh undue) *ſuch* in *that* place as would (and it afterwards proved ſo, and I ſee the effects of *it* in my *after* Proſecutions) force the *contrary*.

And here, though *Major General Skippon* the *then* Governour and *my* Superior Officer (for *I* was in command under *him*) and *my* very loving *friend*, ſat in the Hall in order to an *Election*; yet before *his* face *I* proſecuted for the other with the *uttermoſt* that *my* Intereſt and ſtrength was able, and had accompliſhed it for Col. *Fleetwood* had the *Pole* been granted, as neer as a *man* could *well* judge by a *view* in *that* matter, but the buſineſs was otherwiſe packt, and a return made by the *Sheriffs* preſently in the *Hall* for thoſe *two*, on the *foundation* of *whoſe* after proceedings lay the *miſery*, and *unhappineſs* of the *City*. *I* oppoſed it what *I* could as aforeſaid, as foreſeeing *that* which hath ſince proved in the *end* and *ſomething* was ſent up againſt the *Election* which was of *weight* but *they* being returned, and coming to ſit in the *Houſe*, there was a *Guard* againſt ſuch things as *theſe*, ſo as that the *proſecution* of *things* of *this* nature *ſeldome* received *any* effect, eſpecially when the *perſons* oppoſed ſided with or ſerved the *prevailing* party in the *Houſe*, which *theſe* did, and ſo the *matter* could *never* come within.

There were *many ſober* Citizens that were with *me* in *this* matter, and many of *them* ſuch as had ſuffred much by the *contrary party*.

Indeed *this* encounter put *me* to *ſome*, yea a *great* trial, for *I* there by hazarded *my* Intereſt with the *Major General* then Governour and the *loſs* of the *friendſhip* of that *part* of the *City* which *I* oppoſed in the *Election*; and of the *men* returned *themſelves*; and moreover (as it might prove, and ſo it did as hereafter will *more* appear) *I* apprehended it would lay a *bone* of *contention* between *me* and *them*, and a *ground* of *prejudice* in *them* againſt *me*, which had not the *hand* of the *Lord* preſerv'd *me*, had been *my* ruine. For ever afterwards *thoſe* then ſitting as *Burgeſſes* in the *Houſe* look upon *me* with a *ſquint* eye, and as *they* could with *their* party wrought againſt *me*, and had not the *other* Intereſt, *viz.* the *Army* ſtood *it thorough*, they had carried *it* againſt *me*: For, with the *oppoſite* Intereſt to the *Army they* ſtood in *this* thing, which gave *me* ſore *encounters*, and *notable* diſappointments, and a *male* interpretation of *all* that *I* did to them, and the *party* unto which *I*

did adhere; and if a *hole* could have been pickt in *my* Coat, I should have been sure to have had it; and *they* and *that* Interest would have served it upon *me*, but *they* were disappointed.

This struck the *stroak* between *us*, and laid a *perpetual* ground of *Opposition* on *their* part against *me*, when *they* saw that by *no* means *they* could court *me* to turn from that on which *I* was; and *they* wrought at *me* as *they* pleased; and words passed, and actions from *some* of *them*, not fit here to be related, but in the *summ* of the *matter they* secretly held *me* for their *enemy*, and did against *me* what lay in *their* power, though in *all* that *I did I had* nothing in mine eye but the preservation of the *City* from *that* outrage which *malice* and *wickedness* sought to attempt against *it*, which *now* arose to a *great* height, so that *I* was enforc'd to attend the motions of it higher then *this* place, even in the *Parliament* it self, whither the *heads* of *this* Faction were removed, and sat, and where *they* had *their* influence.

Hereunto *I* was inforced to lay my Leagure, that is to say, to attend the motions of *these* Men above, who here below had accomplisht *little* though it was endeavoured; and because some *principal* Men of the contrary part; *viz. Alderman Hook*, *Alderman James*, *Alderman Francis Creswick*, *&c.* were called upon to *Composition* through the Instigation of *those* of the *City* who sate as *Members* of *Parliament*, whereby those of *this* City who were in the *like* capacity, were (in effect) called to the *same*, therefore *I* removed the matter higher then *this* place; and because *I* saw what force was engaged, *I* thought to bring as good as *themselves*, and so having considered of *certain* Considerations to the *number* of *thirteen*, why the *Citizens*, and *Inhabitants* of *Bristoll* should be freed from *Sequestration*, *I* sent them up to a *Friend* at *London* to communicate *them* to the *General Officers*, and to *him* who was then *Lieutenant General*, to have *their* Judgments whether *they* were *fitting*, or *feiseable*.

Unto this *I* had an Answer, that *they* judged them to be *both*, and encouraged me to a coming up to *London*, which having provided for that purpose, *I* undertook, bringing with *me* a *Petition* which *I* had drawn to the *Parliament*; unto which were subscribed the *hands* of *several* of the *City* that had been for the *Parliament*; unto which were added the Reasons aforesaid, desiring, and endeavouring, an Indemnity for the *City*.

To the *Lieutenant General* I came, after I was come up to London, who ſo approved what I had drawn, that *he* added another Conſideration *himſelf*, and told *me* that if I had *no* better about, *he* would preſent *it* to the *Parliament himſelf*.

I was *very* glad of *this*; and the *then* Commiſſary *General*, and *other* Officers that were *Members* of *Parliament*; and *ſeveral* others of the *Houſe* that were *friendly* to the *Army* being poſſeſſed with the *buſineſs*, the *Lieutenant General* took *it* with *him*, and had a time to preſent *it* to the *Houſe*; but *ſuch* had been the *influence*, and *preoccupation* of *thoſe*, who ſate as *Burgeſſes*, that *John Ap* who was *Chair-Man* at *Goldſmiths-Hall*, (whom upon *this* foot *they* had made *my* mortal Enemy) openly ſaid--- *That I had married a Malignant of Briſtol's Daughter*, and *that I had my Wife in Conſideration of freeing the Malignants of Briſtoll from Sequeſtration.*

This troubled the *Leiutenant General*, and the *Commiſſ. General*, and the *reſt* very *much*, who having not *then* in particular to remove ſuch an *obſtruction* unthought of, thought fit to with-draw the *matter* till *they* had further ſpoken with *me*, who finding (which were *their* thoughts before) that it was a *meer* calumny, and that it was upon *no* ſuch conſideration, but as hath been ſaid, and that in the *Marriage* of *my* Wife, who was the Daughter of *Alderman William Canne*, then *Mayor* of the *City* when I married her; I had anſwered on *my* part what was fitting, if not over, and above what was *uſual*, upon *my* private particular, *they* were greatly troubled; and being in *great* indignation that the *opportunity* was *thus* put by, as well on the *Cities* part unto which *they* were wrought into a *great* regard, as on *mine*; *they* determined to attempt *ſomething* elſe, and becauſe the *City* had *Articles*, and that by the *4th.* of *thoſe* Articles of *Surrender* the *Citizens* and *Inhabitants* were to be defended from *all* manner of *force* and *violence*, and to be preſerved in their Perſons and *Eſtates*, as the ſaid *Article* hath it more at large, which *theſe* Proceedings ſeemed to *invade*; therefore *they* determined to endeavour an *Act* of *Parliament* for the *eſtabliſhing* a *Court* for *Articles* to ſtand indifferently between the *Juſtice* of the *Parliament*, and the *honour* of the *Army*, as *Supream* Judge between *them* both in *point* of *Articles*, and becauſe *this* could not be done for *Briſtol* alone as ſeeming too particular, and ſo a Repulſe might be received, *they* reſolved to attempt it

for

for the *General*, *viz.* as to *all* Articles in which *Briſtols* particular might be *included*.

I helped the matter what *I* could, and forwarded *it*, and attended the *Members* Inſtrumental therein from time to time, ſuggeſting what was thought Material therein, which coſt *me* a *very* long and *wearifom* attendance, as it was *alſo* chargable, till it was effected; which *Act* paſſed and had the *General* incluſion as aforeſaid.

The *Act* being paſſed, and the *Court* coming to ſit; of which *Nathanael Brent* Knight was then *Preſident*, *I* procured a *Letter* from *ſome* of the *chief* in the *Army*, and from *Col. Charles Fleetwood*, in particular to *John Steel* then *Recorder* of *London*, to be *Counſil* in the *Matter*, which *he* accepted, and *promiſed*; and *I* alſo obtained *Gen. Fairfax* and Leiutenant *Ge. Cromwell's Letters* to the *Court* (who were *many* of *them Members* of the *Army*, and had to doing in *this my* friendly aſſiſtance;) in way of Explanation to the *Articles*, and what *their* ſence was, and intended when *they* granted the ſame, with *other* paſſages to induce *them*, not fit here to be mentioned.

So being prepared on *every* hand as well as *I* could, *I* attended with the *Counſil* aforeſaid in the *Court* being the *firſt* cauſe attempted in the *Court*, as it was the *cauſe* wherefore the *Court* was attempted to be *impower'd*: So when the *Counſil* had ſpoken, and *I* had opened Matters for a *long* ſpace of *time*, as to the *Leagure* of *Briſtol*, and *my* particular knowledge in *ſome* Tranſactions, and the *ſtate* of the *City*, and the *reaſonableneſs* of *what* was propoſed, *it* was very clear to the *Court*, and ſo, *nemine contradicente*, they voted, That by the *4th*. Article of the *Surrender* of *Briſtol*, the *Citizens* ought to be freed from *Sequeſtration*, for any thing done by *them* to *that* time; and therefore ordred that the *Commiſſioners* at *Goldſmiths-hall* ſhould forbear proceeding upon the *Citizens* for any thing done by *them* to that time, unleſs *any* thing of *Delinquency* could be proved againſt *them* ſince the *Surrender* thereof: As by the *Copy* of the *Order* it ſelf, which is ready to be produced, may more *plainly* appear.

This command (as *I* may *ſo* call it) was ſent to *Goldſmiths-Hall*, & upon the *Petition* of *Humphry Hook*, *Alex. James*, *Francis Creſwick* and *Edward Caple*, (*Son in Law* to the ſaid *Francis Creſwick*) which *I* drew, who were called upon as to *Compoſition*, as aforeſaid,

ſaid, was it grounded, becauſe being called upon as to *Compoſition* who had *Articles*, there was ground wherefore the *Court* for *Articles* ſhould take cognizance of *their* being *ſo* called upon as to *compoſition*: And hereupon the whole *contrary* Party, that is to ſay by *this* Act had privilege as to *Articles* to appeal, who, *I* ſuppoſe will confeſs that many of *them* received much right, and advantage which upon occaſion of *Briſtol*, was thus brought to effect, and produced.

Here reſted the *Matter* about *two* dayes time, during which the *Commiſſioners* at *Goldſmiths-Hall* grumbled much at the matter, *John Aſh* in particular, who wrote peremptorily to the *Court* thereabouts. And *great* muttrings in the *houſe* there was about the *Court* determination, through occaſion of the *Burgeſſes*, who made *their* buſineſs to incenſe the *Houſe* againſt it, and ceaſed not till upon *one* conſideration or the *other*, the *Houſe* over-ruled the *Judgment* given by the *Court*, and appointed *another* to be *Preſident*, and the (*then*) *Attorny General*, to attend the *Court* in the behalf of the *Parliament*.

Now that the *Burgeſſes* were inſtrumental in *this* matter, and the *perſons* who were the occaſion of the *forcing* of the *thing*, many of the (*then*) Members *then* informed *me*; and *John Aſh* in particular, being *calmly* ſpoken to by *ſome* friends of the aforeſaid *Petitioners*, wherefore *he* drove on *things* ſo againſt the *Petitioners*, and *Briſtol*; ſaid to this effect, *That he could not help it in regard that the Burgeſſes had complained to the Houſe, and that he had received a check thereupon for not proceeding therein.*

This put *me* to *new* work again, and the *Lieutenant General* being made *Lieutenant* of *Ireland*, and coming to *Briſtol* for *Tranſportation*, *I* came down at the *ſame* time, and here ſpake to him about this matter, who ſpake to *me* to draw a *Letter* to the *Court* for *Articles* which he would ſign for *that* purpoſe: So *I* drew a *Letter* very ſignificant, which *he* ſigned, wherein *he* placed *his* expedition to *Ireland* to be grounded on what the *Court* ſhould do in *reference* to what *he* had wrote; alledging to *this* purpoſe, that *he knew not what his Expedition thither might ſignifie, if the honour of the Army ſhould not be made good in point of Articles.*

This was ſent, and delivered to the *Court*, who hitherto had proceeded little in reference to *Briſtol*, and becauſe a *ſtarting hole* was found out for what the *Parliament* had overruled, *viz.* That

the

663

the Articles for Briſtol were not formally confirmed by the Houſe. There being a *Clauſe* in the *Act* that gave them *Cognizance* of ſuch *Articles* only, as the *Houſe* had *confirmed*; I was conſtrained to rummage among the *Parliament* Rolles, and to take out of *them* (which I did my *ſelf*) *all* ſuch paſſages as had proceeded in the *Houſe* in reference to the *Surrender* of *Briſtol*, *viz.* *The thanks of the Houſe to the Generall Officers, and Army upon Col.* Ingoldsby's *Narrative to the Houſe of the* Proceedings *of the Army as to* Briſtol. *The day of Thanksgiving ordred throughout the Nation for the Surrender of the ſaid place, their Letter to the General, and ſundry other things*, which I abſtracted and delivered to the *Court*, amounting in the *whole* to *more then a Confirmation.* For indeed, that *Surrender* conſidering the ſeaſon of the *Year* (being in the *approach* of *Winter*) and the *Reputation* thereof, and the *Armies* liberty thereupon to proſecute to the *end* of that *War*, was of as much conſequence to the *Parliaments* part, as it was againſt *them* when it was taken by that *Party* which was *contrary.*

Nevertheleſs, neither the *one* nor the *other* could prevaile, neither the *Letter*, nor the *Abſtract*, nor whatſoever was offred, to have a *Salvo* to the *former* order of the *Court*; the *influence* of the *Houſe* through the *Burgeſſes* ſollicitation lying in the *way*, but ſtill *they* held it to *that* Clauſe, *viz.* the *Confirmation* of the *Houſe*; ſo that the *ſollications* were forced *there* to ceaſe, without any further advantage then a *prompting* the Parties concerned to *Goldſmiths-hall* and a recommendation of *them* thither for an *eaſie* Compoſition; foraſmuch as by the *ſaid* Article the *Petitioners* might ſuppoſe *themſelves* (and to have *ſome* reaſon for that purpoſe) to be freed from *Sequeſtration*: And one of the *Petitioners* diſtruſting the *iſſue* of *things* at *laſt*, and being promiſed favour by *John Aſh* at *Goldſmiths-Hall*, *viz.* *Alexander James*, took the opportunity, ſo did *Alderman Wallis* alſo, who was *no Petitioner* but in the *ſame* predicament. And thus *this* Matter came to be broken, and by *ſome* of the *Petitioners* own hands at laſt, which had been brought *thus* far, and *Goldſmiths-Hall* in a capacity of having to do with *them*; And indeed it was the *deſign* of *that* time thus to break *them*; unto which ſome of *their* own hands ſerved. And here *Matters* for a while reſted.

The *truth* of it is, there were *many* Lords, and *others* then in the *City* at the *time* of the *Surrender*, that were concern'd in *that*

Article

Article, who either *had*, or *were* in a *condition* of *compounding* for *considerable* Estates; who if *they* had been excluded, the *order* for the *Validity* of *that* Article had not been *expunged*. And so much for *that* business.

Now as a *Vessel* in the *Sea* which had lost *her* Oares and Rudder, so were the rest of the *Petitioners*, and other *Citizens*, who thought *themselves* in the *same* condition, tossed up and down, secur'd *themselves* as they could, sometimes this way, sometimes that, till *another* expedient came to be pitcht upon, which might give them relief, though yet as to what had been offred the *Court* for *Articles*, and the reason thereof, there was a *Cessation*; and not with *that* violence at *Goldsmiths-Hall* as to *them*, were things prosecuted as *usual*, upon the ground before mentioned. The *Commissioners* at *Goldsmiths-Hall* had an *Exeunt* in a *short* time, and they were forced to give way to a *new* Bill that authorized several *new* Commissioners, who sat at *Haberdashers-Hall* who were impowred to *all* those things relating to *Sequestration*, and *particular* persons in *every* County were appointed as *Subcommissioners* for *Sequestrations*, and *these* applied *themselves* in discharge of that *Office*, and the *Rules* were *very* strickt, so that *no* man who had publiquely to do on the *contrary* part could (probably) escape *them*; and those who were appointed for *Subcommissioners* for *Somersetshire* made *their* Progress to *Bristol*, as included in the County of *Somerset*, and made demand of the *Committee* the *Papers* that lay before *them* concerning *Sequestrations*.

This appeared as a *new* furnace, wherein to terrifie *those* Citizens, and to turn aside *all* that had been on the *contrary* before, so *I* looked on the Act, and finding there that the *Subcommissioners* must be men of the *same* County, and considering that *Bristol* was a *City* and *County* of it self, *I* thought there was a *hole* in it, and that upon this ground *those* Subcommissioners had nothing to do in *Bristol*, being not (all of *them* though *one* was) Inhabitants of the City.

This flaw *I* shewed to *my* Cozen *Haggatt* (who was both a Councellor at *Law*, and a Member of the *Committee*, who *before*, and *then*, and *afterwards* vigorously acted with *me*, and with whom *I* particularly corresponded in *this* freedom of the City, who hath acted what lay in *him*, as *I* did above, though now by *some* of the Men concern'd, as *ill* rewarded) and told *him* that I thought it would

would be well if *he* would communicate it to the *Committee*.

He was of *my* mind in both, and ſo wrought that the *Committee* denied the Papers *that* lay before *them* to *theſe* Subcommiſſioners as not being capacitated by the *Act* thereunto, being not *Inhabitants*. Nevertheleſs on *they* proceeded on *their* own *legs*, and *part* of *Alderman Hooks* Eſtate in *Sommerſetſhire* was ſequeſtred, and part in *Glouceſterſhire* by the *Subcommiſſioners* of that County, and *one* came to *his* Houſe to Inventory his *Goods* in the City.

Now *I* was put to it, for the matter was precidential to *all*, for though the *Burgeſſes* to wave the *buſineſs* of the *Articles*, ſuggeſted, that there was *only two* or *three* Malignants, *Hook*, &c. that were in proſecution, and *no* others intended; thereby making the matter *little*, yet having broke the ice on *them*, the *reſt* muſt have followed; for the *ſame* Rules ſerved for the *one* as for the *other*, and the *leading* men being overcome, the *reſt* muſt follow: the Commiſſioners at *Haberdaſhers-Hall* having about 200. on the Liſt: Though with *this* Dawberry, *their* Emiſſaries thought to charme the *reſidue* ſo concerned in the City into an *Opinion* that the matter was not of *that* moment, nor would have reflection (at leaſt in intent) upon *them*, ſo as that *they* needed to fear. Hereby turning aſide *their* general ſence and appearance in the *Matter*, and endeavouring the leſſning of *that* which was attempted for *them*.

To *thoſe* of *Glouceſterſhire*, viz. *Capt. Buck*, and *Hancolk*, Col. *Nath. Rich.* (at *my* deſire) and *my* ſelf wrote, who thereupon took off the ſeizure in order to *Sequeſtration* on *Alderman Hook*'s Eſtate, and for thoſe of *Sommerſetſhire* I ſo wrought that *they* were ſoon turned out, and ſuch *Men* put in *their* places, as upon whom *I* had an influence, whom by *Letters* and otherwiſe *I* kept off from *Briſtol*, leaſt they ſhould run *themſelves* into a *Premunire* as acting in caſes where they were not Commiſſionated.

This ſtemm'd the *Tide* again, and gave *ſome* reſpite; nevertheleſs the endeavours of the *other* part were not wanting to bring it on *afreſh* with *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, and from the *fountain* as it were, to cauſe *their* ſuffring.

With *Haberdaſhers-Hall* I was forced now to work, and *ſeveral* of the Commiſſioners *I* engaged with the *Reaſon* of the *thing* not to act; and of *this* number *Three* there were, a *fourth* was *Neutral*, and cared to do *little* in the matter: So that the *Orders* from them to the *Subcommiſſioners* lay ſometime a *Month* together un-

 ſigned,

signed, there being but *seven* of them, and the signing required a *Majority* of the *Commissioners*. One while *I* held *them* with one thing, and another while with *another*; and sometimes *I* wrote to *them*, and made use of the *then* state of the *Nation* that required *there* should be *no* irritation, especially of *such* a City, at *such* a *time*, which might turn *much* to prejudice: And because I knew not what might be the Consequence, at last *I* got the Matter in the *House* again as to the *particular* of *Alderman Hook* and the *rest*, which being not so well timed by the *Speaker*, it being *early* in the *Morning*, and the *Members* that were to assist it, not being present, one of the *Burgesses* crusht it in the *bud*, and so it died. The *motion* arose from a *Letter* General *Fairfax* wrote to the *House* in that particular, which *I* procured, and gave to the *Speaker* who presented it.

Then I wrought in the *Counsil* of *State*, (*I* being then at *Whitehall*, and in the *nature* of a *Secretary* of *State*, though *they* being then in the *form* of a *Commonwealth*, they gave no such appellation, such an appellation being to a *state* improper, yet *Secretary* I was, and such was the term that by *their* order *they* gave me.) *I* say, I wrought with the *Counsil* of *State*, and exhibited consideration to *them* according to the *nature* of *things*, and the *reason* of the *times*, and so accomplished that some of the *Commissioners* were sent for by the *Counsil* to appear before *them*, where *we* had a hearing; but neither *here* could any thing be accomplished by reason of the workings of the *Burgesses* with some of the *Counsil*, though the (*then*) President and others did what they could: The matter indeed, not *so* properly relating unto *them* to judge in, seeing the *Law* was as to *Sequestration*, otherwise then as to a *prudent* suspension of putting the *Law* in *execution*, where (probably) *such* execution might return to a *greater* prejudice, and to commend the *consideration* of the whole to the *Parliament*.

This gave a *little* breathing, the *Commissioners* being found not otherwise acting, but in reference to *their* Oaths in the discharge of what *they* had undertaken according to the *Rules* that were set *them*, which being prompted to by *others* instigation, and *such* as were *Members* of *Parliament*, it could be expected to have *no* other influence.

Nevertheless, things ended not *here*, but *new* sollicitations to Sequestration produced *new* Orders, and a *peremptory* Letter by that

667

the Commiſſioners was ſent down to the *Committee* in reference to *their Non-Sequeſtration*, demanding the *Copies* of the *Papers* that were before them, for *that* purpoſe threatning to lay a fine upon *their* heads, and that a *Serjeant at Armes* moreover ſhould be ſent for *them*. *John Creſwick*'s Land alſo at *Langford* in the County of *Somerſet* was ſequeſtred.

To *this* the *Committee* gave a *manly* Reply, *my* Coz. *Haggat* being Inſtrumental therein, who drew it; and as for *John Creſwick* I informed the *Commiſſioners* that *his* father Alderman *Creſwick* aforeſaid was *dead*, who in *his life* time was not ſequeſtred, and now *his* Eſtate was devided among *his* Children, and *this* particular part of it to *his* Son *John*, whom none of *their* Rules had included for *Sequeſtration*: So that the *matter* fell to the ground, and the *Sequeſtration* was taken off; as did the other by the return to the *Letter* aforeſaid. So *this* tide was ſtemm'd again, and a *Pauſe* there was.

Now drew *neer* the time wherein the *King* and *his* Army marched out of *Scotland* into *England*, which was not an ordinary *time* in *England*: The *Counſil* of *State* then beſtir'd *themſelves*, and Intelligence *they* had from *all* parts of the Nation *every* day (for ſo it was laid) of what was done therein, and how *their* Militia advanced: From *Briſtol* alſo they received an *account* amongſt the reſt, of what was done in *that* City, which the *Counſil* ſo took and *I* was careful ſo to improve that *they* ordred it to be reported to the *Houſe* by *Henry Vane* Kt. then *High Steward* of the *City*; who being willing to do it a kindneſs, and having been aſſiſtant unto *me* in *my* endeavours for the *City*, ſo managed it that a *Letter* of *Thanks* was ordred by the *Houſe* to be ſent to *Briſtol* for *their* good affection unto *them*: And that the *City* might not be put to charge at *that* time, *I* procured a *Bill* of 500 *l.* to be ſent alſo by the *Counſil* upon the account of the *State*, towards what ſhould be done therein.

Well, *Worceſter* buſineſs was over, and the *Parliament* were upon an *Act* of *Indemnity*, and I thought it high time now to look about, and to finiſh what *I* had with *ſo* much travel, and *more then three years* expence of *time*, endeavoured to bring to paſs. Therefore leaſt this *Act* ſhould be cloſed with an *excluſion* of *Briſtol*, *I* drew a *third* Petition to the Houſe in the *Name* of ſeveral *Citizens* and *Inhabitants* of *Briſtol* that had been well affected to *them*, who

had signed the *first* Petition aforesaid, and *I* adjoyned thereto *certain* Considerations wherefore the *Parliament* should grant *Bristol* an Indemnity; and *I* engaged in the *Delivery* and prosecution thereof, the *most* leading men that then were in the *House*, as the then Lord *General*, Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, Lord [illegible] of *Groby*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, Col. *Hen. Marten*, Major *Sallaway*, the Lord *Commissioner Lisle*, the Lord Chief Justice *St. Johns*, &c. with many *others*; who well timing the thing, took *their* opportunity, and being presented the *House*, so spake, that the *Parliament* voted to this effect, *That if the Instructions for the Act of Indemnity, and general Pardon in the general did not reach* Bristol *in particular*, Bristol *should have a particular Act of Indemnity for it self*; and ordred the *Petition* and *Considerations* annext, to be left in the hands of the *Clark* of the *House* for that purpose.

This *I* thought pretty well, yet *I* could not judge the matter secure whilst there was *any* thing between this and the thing done, *I* having received so many disappointments, and well knowing that *Votes* of *Parliament* many times admit of *Alterations*; and as *Ships* at Sea are forced *oft* times according to the *Winds*; but principally was *I* jealous of *Haberdashers-Hall*, and the working of the *opposite* party there that hitherto had given *me* that exercise in the *matter*; least that *now* upon the *closing* of the *thing*, they should struggle to undo *my* work, and to finish *their* own. And the *rather* was *I* considerate in the *matter*, because when the *Vote* aforesaid passed the *House*, I being in the *Lobby* attending what should be done, *I* saw one of the *Burgesses* come out, as not able to stay therein, when *he* saw it like to be carried when the *Vote* passed; so least *any* thing should *again* come between the *cup* and the *lip*, (as they use to say) between the *Vote* and the *finishing*, least *Haberdashers-Hall* should yet interpose, or be driven thereunto, I drew a few lines unto *them*, signifying what the *Parliament* had done, because, being not enacted, *these* Commissioners were not bound to take notice of what was voted in the *House*, and desiring *them* to forbear *any* further prosecutions on *Bristol* till what the *Parliament* would do in the *thing* might come to be understood: Which some of the *Members* aforesaid signed, particularly the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock* (whom upon the withdrawing of *Edmund Prideaux* to be Atturny General, I bespoke and procured to

to be Recorder of *Briſtol*, that ſo by his Relation *he* might have the more open opportunity to do that *good* which was in his *heart* to do for the City) Sir *Hen. Vane*, with ſome others, but as for the Profeſſes one or both of *them*; but *I* am ſure one of *them* refuſed to put his *hand* thereunto.

This had its effect on *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, at leaſt they did nothing further in the *Sequeſtration* of *Briſtol*, and ſo one of the general *Inſtructions* of the Act of *Indemnity*, having this *clauſe* in particular, viz. *That all thoſe that were not actually ſequeſtred before ſuch a day of* September 1649. *ſhould be freed from Sequeſtration*; thoſe of the City who had been on the contrary Party were freed from Sequeſtration, they not being actually *ſequeſtred* before the ſaid day of *September*. And ſo the keeping off the *actual* Sequeſtration of *Briſtol* during thoſe years wherein the *Matters* were toſſed up and down as aforeſaid, and thorough *ſuch* difficulties wrought in order to *this* time, which finiſht the *matter*, and freed thoſe who had ſo much Reſolution as to hold it out (which was the *whole* except ſome *few* particular perſons aforeſaid) from *Sequeſtration*.

And ſo *I* made an end of *my* work, which *I* began as aforeſaid, out of *mine* own particular Conſideration of the *good* of the *place*, and the particular perſons therein, without the influence of *any* other perſons whatſoever; and which (through many ſore and long attendances, *diſappointments*, *abuſes*, and *oppoſitions*, ſometimes waiting *ſix*, ſometimes *eight* Weeks together from *Briſtol* upon *them*, then when at *Whitehall*, applying the whole of *my* Intereſt, beſides what elſe of trouble and anxiety of Spirit did intervene, and other troubles in a *thing* of that nature, which *I* have choſen rather to forget, then by remembring to renew *my* ſorrows again.) *I* finiſhed, not with *greater* advantage to the *Citizens*, and the *City* it ſelf, being conſidered as aforeſaid, then *ſatisfaction* to *my* ſelf, and *gladneſs* of *heart* that *I* had (though with all the Appendices aforeſaid) accompliſhed the *Peace* and *Welfare* of my Native place, and the *Citizens* therein concerned, as hath been ſaid; hoping at leaſt juſtly expecting that in the *peace* thereof *I* might enjoy *peace*, and that ſuch a thing as this being done for them, which no place in *England* obtained but *themſelves*, and thus freely by *me*, (for *they* to this day never asked *me* what it coſt *me*? nor gave *me* Conſideration therein, nor did *I* ever receive any thing at *their* hands, *directly* or *indirectly*, for what I ſo did for them therein; and what

charge

charge and trouble I was at; wiſe men may gueſs, but cannot thoroughly underſtand;) *I* ſay, hoping at leaſt *juſtly* expecting that in the *Peace* thereof *I* might ſit down in peace, and that *ſuch* a thing as this being thus freely done by *me*, which had been done for no place, I might in the love and good will of *thoſe* for whom *I* had acted, and from whom (*I* may modeſtly ſay) deſerv'd it, have my future receſs, and being in that place when opportunity called me to return, and to have *my* retirement therein.

But *I* have found it otherwiſe as aforeſaid, which hath given the occaſion of *this* adjuſting of *Accounts* with *them*, already hitherto, and hereafter to be mentioned. For being put on this foot of *Baniſhment* in the eye of thoſe who do not underſtand *me*, nor know the ground and reaſon wherefore it is *ſo* come to paſs, nor what I have been to *this* place, and the *particular* Men therein who have ſentenc'd *me* thereunto, *I* am rendred and beſpoken (as the *thing* it ſelf ſignifies) ſuch a *perſon*, and that in the judgment of *thoſe* with whom *I* live, as deſerves not a being in *my* Native Country; whom therefore the *Lawes* and *thoſe* in *Power* with whom *I* live, ſent *me* from thence: Therefore it lay upon *me* as a neceſſity to *my* own Reputation and credit among men to *this* Generation, and to the *Ages* to *come*, thus to do *my* ſelf right, that ſo it may appear that it was for *no* evil deed, but having done many *Good things* among them, *I* am *thus* Baniſhed.

And in what *I* have *already*, and have *yet* further to ſay *I* have, and ſhall ſay the *truth*, and in the contrary thereunto diſprove *me* who can: For, I have only minded as aforeſaid, to do *my* ſelf this neceſſary right, whereunto had I not been *thus* compelled, I had been in *ſilence*, and theſe things together with my perſon had in proceſs of time when I had finiſhed *my* work in *my* Generation (for ought that I know ſhould ever have proceeded from *me*, of theſe kind of Reckonings) been laid in the *Duſt*: But (as I have ſaid) I am compelled hereunto, and thoſe who are concern'd muſt hear their Reckoning which *they* have thus compell'd, which muſt ſtand from *Generation* to *Generation* on record againſt *them*, which ſhall *never* be bloted out; and let the *Witneſs* of *God* in *all* Men's Conſciences, even in them of their own Principle judge when they have conſidered this throughout, whether have proved natural to *Briſtol*, they or I? Or whether they have done to *me* as they would be done unto *themſelves*? Or whether *they* have rendred unto *me* a recompence that is *meet*?

I

I am not ignorant how even this that I have ſaid may come to bear a *miſconſtruction*, and how it may be judged that I do this either for *Oſtentation*, or to beſpeak *my* ſelf with them, with whom I have to do, and ſo to fall under, or ſeek favour from them. But I am ſatisfied in that neither the *one* nor the other *thus* ſtand with *me*, but only as aforeſaid, being (I ſay again) *thus* compell'd thereunto: And let him that is moſt envious, but put *himſelf* in *my* ſtead, and make the caſe his own, as is mine, and I dare ſtand to his judgment therein; I ſay it is only becauſe this thing of *Baniſhment* in the *nature* of it, renders *me* as aforeſaid in the eye of thoſe who know *me* not to have ſo deſerved, that I ſo write; and for the deciſion hereof I leave it to the Lord who knows *my* heart and uprightneſs therein, and to his witneſs in Men, as he ſhall pleaſe to give it opperation in *them*, being ſenſible of his preſence which is with *me* herein, without whom and his motion thereunto I had not written.

But to proceed, thus were things finiſhed as aforeſaid, but *this* was not all, but rather one Act for the advantage of the *City*, which in proceſs of time through many changes and various *Interruptions* and *Difficulties* was thus brought unto effect, *My* Natural Love to *my* Native City ended not here, nor was it herein only terminated, but as I had opportunity, and was in the place of Power, *my* love led *me* to ſerve it, and the *particular* Citizens and Inhabitants thereof, and I think there are few men that then were judged to be Men of *Eſtates*, and had buſineſs but found the benefit of *my* endeavour one way or another, and of my being in a *Capacity* to do them ſervice.

The Company of *Merchants*, I ſuppoſe will do *me* right herein, who being purſued by one *Lewis* upon the Patent for *Calve-skins*, and *Butter*, and endeavour'd to be brought under great damage, found my help. Oft times they had addreſſes to the *then* Committee for the *Navy* in that Caſe: Their Delegates can witneſs how ready I was to aſſiſt them there, as oft as they came up, and with what ſucceſs: Then when that *particular* came to that height, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours and ſuſpenſions, a peremptory day was ſet them to plead in the *Exchequer*, or Judgment would be given againſt them, their then Alderman (thoſe of *them* that are *yet* alive) and *others* that were *then* of that Company are able, and I ſuppoſe will teſtifie (if not the *Generality* of the Company)

pany) that I gave them notice from *Whitehall* of *this* peremp[tory] rule, which without their knowledge (having not *ſo* minded [the] buſineſs as *they* ought) was *ſo* ſet, & how that when *they* came up [to] *me* I ſo wrought that in the *morning* by *nine* of the *Clock* I got [the] *matter* of *Judgment* by the *Parliament* taken off, which had it [not] been *ſo* done, had been given in the *afternoon* in the *Exchequer* gainſt *them*, to the *Damage*, as was *then* ſaid, of *above* Twen[ty] Thouſand Pounds.

There are *alſo* I ſuppoſe, yet *alive* of *Merchants* that then were not of the *Company*, who can teſtifie, that being purſued by the ſame *Lewis* upon the *foot* of *treble* Damages, which amounted to a *great* height upon *particular* perſons, becauſe that the taking off of the *Judgments* aforeſaid was upon *Petition* of the *Company* of *Merchants*, and *they* being not *actually* of the *Company* were not con-cern'd in the *Order* of *Parliament*, which was a miſtake; for upon their *Petition* of the *Company* of *Merchants* it was granted which had reference to *all* Merchants whatſoever that had to do in Calf-*ſkins* and *Butter*, not that it was granted *only* to *thoſe* Merchants who were of the *Company*, which was the *Criticiſme*, or rather that which was ſought to evade the *Judgment* ſo far as to *them*. I think there are *yet* alive of *them*, as I have ſaid, that can witneſs that having put their matters into the *Court* of *Indemnity*, which was then at *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, I appeared there of *my* ſelf without *their* deſire, and pleaded *their* Matters *ſo*, none of *them* being preſent, nor *any* one of Councel for *them*, when the *Council* on the other ſide pleaded I ſay, I ſo accompliſhed it with the Commiſſioners that *they* were freed therefrom, it amounting to ſome in the ſumm of 800 *l.* a piece, and to ſome 1200 *l.* as was *then* ſaid, I am ſure that *they* cannot ſay that *they* ſo much as paid for *my* coming thither.

Then when in the time of the *little* Parliament (ſo *called*) the *Company* of *Merchants* were ſummon'd before a *Committee* of *them* to anſwer as to that *whole* buſineſs upon the *ſame* ſuggeſtions in the *Painted* Chamber, and I was retired from *Whitehall*, I judge there are yet in being thoſe of *them* that can bear *me* record, that at *their* deſire in the *midſt* of *Winter* I rod up with *them*, and when the time of hearing was come, their Opponents ſeeing *me* appear with Papers in *my* hand (for I told the Merchants that I would if *they* pleaſed, and ſo *they* were, plead the Matter my ſelf without

any

673

any Councel) with-drew *their* Information, the *matter* falling thereby to the *ground*, and how that *I* put them to *no* other trouble that Journey, (if ſo be *my* being with *them* at *their* deſire was a trouble) then to bear up and down and there *my* own charge.

Afterwards ſince that *Parliament*, having the *ſhew* of *ſome* trouble again, *I* drew the *ſtate* of that *caſe*, and gave to the late *Alderman Joſeph Jackſon*, (who had been up about the *other*, with the *other* Aldermen, and I ſuppoſe was then *Maſter* of the *Company*, when *I* ſo ſtated the caſe) and deſired him to ſhew it to whomſoever *that* hereafter ſhould queſtion *them* thereabouts, and it would ſatisfie *them*, which proved the effect; ſo that to this day *they* have thereabouts received (as *I* know of, and *I* judge *I* ſhould have heard of it if it had been *ſo*, having been their friend therein, and in the *City*) any further trouble: As the ſaid *Alderman Jackſon* (were *he* alive) for *his* time (and others ſince) could (at leaſt) the *Paper* it ſelf will) teſtifie. All that *I* received in conſideration of that whole buſineſs for the *ſaid* Company was, *they* did of *themſelves* (for *I* am ſure there was therein no influence of mine) make me free, or gave me the *freedom* of the *Company*.

Then when *Virginia* came to be diſcourſed of, which was *then* held by the *contrary* Party, and *Ships* were talked of to be ſent thither to reduce it; *ſome* Merchants of *London* would have excluded *Briſtol*, which of *my* ſelf *I* then oppoſed and prevented, none of the *City* being there with *me*, they indeed not knowing thereof: And ſo the *excluſion* of *that* trade was prevented, which now is become the *Principal* Forreign *Trade* of the *City*.

In the *buſineſs* of *Engliſh* Tobacco, *I* aſſiſted the bringing forth of that Act againſt the *Planting* thereof, being diſcommodious to a *greater* benefit to the *Nation*, and *deſtructive* to *Land*, which in *England* hath better uſes; and in procuring the *Act* for *Navigation*, I bore a ſhare which had *its* influence on the *good* of the *City*.

When *Edward Caple* was ſequeſtred in *Glouceſterſhire*, and ſo called upon to *compound* in *his* abſence at *Sea*, and his Wifes Solliciter had elap'ſt the *day* appointed for ſuch as were in *his* Qualification, and *ſhe* was hard beſtead with trouble in the thing; *I* laid by *mine* own occaſion then in *London*, (which *then* was of *ſome* conſiderable loſs to *me*) and pittying *her* condition, ſeeing her in *danger* of *diſtraction* if *her* matters could not be retrived; *I* went

to the *Court*, and being within the *Bar* had some ruffle with the *then* Chief Baron, who desired *me to let them alone, and not hinder them in the doing of Justice*; I told *him* that I was not there to hinder *them* in the doing of *Justice*, but that *they* might do it: For, what *Justice* (said I) is it for a man to loose the *benefit* of *Composition*, who really intends to comply with the *Law*, because the *negligence* or *falshood* of his Solliciter had brought *him* within the *expiration* of the day, and so excluded *him* the benefit of *Composition*, as was the *case* of *Edward Caple*, which to *me* was a hard case: At length I so wrought what with the *one* Baron, and what with the *other*, and the Sequestrator, that *she* was dismist: The matter in question being 50 *l.* a year *free* Land, which (as I remember) was *her* Jointure, and seven years Arrears thereof, which was as much as if I had given it *her* in *her* Pocket, besides it saved her from *Distraction*.

The *Woman* was Sister to *Henry Creswick* now *Alderman*, Eldest Son to Alderman *Francis Creswick* aforesaid; Who in *Recompence* of what I did (as hath been said) for *his* Father, and *his* Father's House, and his Brother *John*, and this his Sister *Sarah Caple*, and hir Wifes Father, Alderman *Humphry Hook*, (as aforesaid) then which *no* man had done more for a *Family* in *this* Nation; having not *only* saved him a *Composition*, but delivered *him* from the *fury* of the *Burgesses*, and the *strength* of the *Great* Men of that Party in the Nation, notwithstanding that *his* Estate was in part under *Sequestration*, and the very goods of his *House* Inventoryed, who had a very great Estate (as aforesaid) and consequently to *himself* in the quiet enjoyment of what *he* had by his *own* Father, and his Wives, which I think was some Thousands of *Pounds* thick, by having the more of *their* Estates, by how much the *state* had none, and his being freed himself with the rest that had been on the *contrary* party, as at large hath been declared; I having been alwayes a tender friend to *him* and *them* never having given *them* so much as the least just personal cause of *Offence*, but having been *alwayes* in love and *tenderness* to *them* as aforesaid, I say in Recompence he caused *me* to be taken from a *Meeting*, wherein *We* were quietly waiting on the *Lord* without offence to any, with divers of *my* Friends and fellow Citizens, *Men* of *Quality* and Reputation in the City; in the year *he* was *Mayor*, and then committed me

to the Guard at the *Guildhall*, where with the reſt of *my* Friends *I* lay all night on the *Boards* in *Georges* Chapel, then to the *Marſhalſy*, an old pittiful houſe, ready as a *man* would think to have fallen about *one's* eares, when *we* had large Houſes of our own neer, which lay for the moſt part empty. And (to add *no* more) ſigned the Warrant for my third Conviction upon the firſt Bill of which *I* ſtood indicted, and ſate on the *Bench* as one of the *Court* that ſentenc'd me to *Baniſhment*, and ſigned the *Warrant* for *my* Tranſportation, though an *Alderman* that ſate by *him* refuſed ſo to do, to whom *I* had done no ſuch Kindneſs, there being only the Relation of Brother in Law between us, whoſe Name is *Tho. Langton*.

And to ſhew what an *ingrate* ſpirit lay in *his* breaſt, and how *unworthy he* was, when *I* was upon the *firſt* Indictment aforeſaid, and in the *words* of *ſoberneſs*, and *moderation* deſired, as it was reaſonable, a Copy of *my* Indictment, and the *Convictions*, that *I* might not be put to plead to a *thing* of *that* weight, as was that of which *I* ſtood Indicted; the Conſequence of which might remove me from *my* Native Country, *my Family*, *Children*, *Eſtate*, *Relations*, &c. barely upon the *hearing* of a *Paper* read; Minding *them* that *they* alſo, as *I* ſaid, *We all muſt appear before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt*; and therefore it behoved *them* and *us* ſo to do, as that *we* might be able to give a *good* account before *him*; telling *them* alſo that if the *Caſe* were *theirs*; and if *they* ſtood where *I* did, which for ought *they* knew (I ſaid) *they* might, and that for *their* Conſciences, as was *my* Caſe; *they* would, if it fell within *their* Conſideration, deſire the *ſame*; which drew *teares* from *ſome* in the *Hall*, Into a *great* rage *he* fell, and in *great* bitterneſs of *ſpirit*; Unprovoked, unexpected, unthought of, when *all* were ſilent, *very* falſly, and *maliciouſly*, and with the *higheſt* Ingratitude, and *unworthineſs*, ſaid to *this* effect ---- *That I, and my Complices had ſate in Judgment upon their Eſtates, and his in particular* ---- who *never* ſate in *Judgment* upon *him*, or *them*, or *their* Eſtates; or *was one* of the *Committee*, but helped *them*, as hath been declared, To whom *I* replyed ---- *I never ſate in Judgment upon you, but have ſaved you*, and *this is thy gratitude* ---- and *I* added, *ſome ſuch like kind of payment, I ſhall have from ſome more of you by and by*---- The *Court* was offended with *him* for *this* Retaliation, and *Alderman Knight* himſelf,

who ſate next *him*, thought it but an *unworthy* payment; and therefore *he* was too blame, and ſo *jogged him* to be ſilent, though at the *ſame* time in *other* things, he *there* ſhewed himſelf *bad* enough and in *particular* to *me*.

When the *Iſle* of *Man* was reduced, one *Child* of *this City* was concern'd in a *Ship* there taken, and ſent to *me* thereabouts; I ſpake to the *Council*, who *ſo* much credited what *I* ſaid to them about the *Veſſel*, that without *ſo* much as a *Depoſition*, or *further* Teſtemony, *they* Ordered the *Ship*, and *her* Appurtenances to be (and which was) delivered to *him*, *I* am ſure it coſt him not a farthing as to *me*.

My Kinſman *John Wright* being ſummoned *peremptorily* to appear by ſuch a day before the *Lords* and *Commons* for *Sequeſtration*, which was within *three* or *four* dayes of the *time* when the *ſummons* was left *him*, which was with-held from ſerving, on purpoſe that *he* might be ſurpriz'd, it being in the *depth* of *Winter*, and neer *Pauls fair*, *his* Wife alſo miſcarrying on the *fright* thereof, wrote up to *me*, who appeared for *him* before the *Lords* and *Commons*, and *publiquely* charged a *Member* then preſent, of *that* Committee, that *he* ſerved that matter in the behalf of a *Brother* of his who was in *ſuite* of Law with one *Whitehead* about a *parcel* of Land, whom *John Wright* aſſiſted (*he* being a *man* of *Eſtate*, and a Merchant) to with-draw *him* from which, or to make *him* ſuffer, if he would not, *this* was offred: Whereupon, and upon what elſe was ſuggeſted by *me* in that matter, *he* was diſcharged; and an Order made, that for the future, *no* perſon ſhould be required to appear before *them* untill matter of Delinquency was *firſt* ſworn, and made good, which was of advantage to *all* that were concern'd in *ſuch* matters as well as *John Wright*: And I do not remember (*my I* am certain it is ſo) that it coſt *John Wright* ſo much as the charge of *his* Poſt-Letter to *me*.

The *Lady St. Johns* Wife to *Arundel* of *Warder* Caſtle (who was *here*, I mean the *man* under ſome Diſtemper of *Melancholy*) being in great *diſtreſs*, (and a *very* ſtranger to *me*) in ſo much that *ſhe* was conſtrained in a *ſtrange* place to ſell off the little *Goods* ſhe had to give *her* bread, and ſpeaking with *me*, I was *ſo* ſenſible of her condition, making it *my* own caſe, that *I* never left till with the *Committee* here and *above* ſhe had a clearing, and enjoyed

her

her Estate and Land again; which that *Noble* Woman (for *I* call her so she was) if alive, or *her* then *Husband*, or *Eldest* Son, can at large testifie: She was a *Papist* (so called) and *her* Husband, and great Oppression was exercised on *her*, out of which *I* saw *her* delivered, which was *my* only Recompence.

Nor was *I* here limited, or did limit *my* self, but *my* tenderness extended it self to *others* that suffred: Some *Monies* I gathered and gave to Bishop *Howel's* Wife, who with *her* Children, when *this* City was taken, was found in *distress*; and several of the then *Ministers* had *their* Relief from *me*, who were not *prosecuted* when *Articles* were sent against *them*; in particular *Henry Jones* of *Stepney*, and who being cast *out*, I got in again, as was *Richard Pounal* at *John's* in particular.

The time would fail *me* if I should instance all: the *City* was under a *great* blur of *Malignancy*, the *Burgesses* held it on as *they* could as aforesaid; *all* Matters ran *athwart*, and through the *fire* were *drawn*, that were accomplished, by reason thereof, for the *City*, till after the *time* of *Worcester* I never gave over whil'st I had time or opportunity to serve *its* welfare, till all was accomplished. I never thought it *too* much that I did, nor of what *I* have done, ever did I, or do I repent; I had no *sinister* end in *my* eye, that would *now* have shewn it self; I did it whil'st I had opportunity, to do *good* to *them*, who I knew would requite *me* evil. I have *my* desire, *viz.* the *Prosperity* of the *place*, and of *these* men in *particular*, for whom *so* to do, I never received from *them* an Obligation: I am glad I had the opportunity, and that *it is done*. The *Welfare* of the City, not the *destruction* thereof, have I sought. Well may it *prosper* say I, and be multiplied, and that in the *Peace* and *Prosperity* thereof, the *Nation* may have *peace*, and *prosper*, though for *my* love, and being thus in order thereunto, I am *Banisht* my Native *City*, and *Country* to *Barbados*, (with *many* more of *my* Brethren) for *my* Conscience to *God* in *Recompence*; which *no* Law pointed *me* out to, for I was not named therein, but to *them* that it gave power to execute the *Law*, and to their discretion it is by *Law* left, whom to take, and whether to take *any* or *no*, that *they* found at *our* Meetings; which *Discretion* of *theirs* hath been *thus* exercised to *me*, who have been *thus* to *them*, who have *always* carried *my* self civil, and a friend to *them*; who with *as* much *Integrity* of *heart*, and

more

more Induſtry have endeavoured *their*, and the *proſperity* of the C
then ever I did to get penny for *my* Child; in Recompence of w
they will not ſuffer *me* to breath in *my* Native Country for
Conſcience, though the *foot* of the *proſperity* of *them*, and the C
ſtands upon what I have *freely* done for *them* and the *City*; I ſa
as to *my* particular, well may the *City* proſper, and be multipli
and that in the *peace* and *proſperity* thereof the *Nation* may h
peace and *proſper*, but I fear, nay I am certain, that the *Lord* w
viſit for *theſe* things; and that *he* whoſe is *Conſcience*, and the D
minion thereof, for which we ſuffer, will lay *Briſtol*, as it hath do
London an *heap for this thing*; which I would not have had, a
therefore wrote to *their* Mayor *John Lawford* therein: For, t
which led *me* to ſave it when I had power, gave me Bowels ov
it, when *I* was not in the capacity to ſave, nor have I had
much as a *riſing* thought in *me* of revenge to *them* herein, but
tears have wept over it and them, deſiring that in *this their* d
they would *know the things that concern their peace*: and *ſo* h
ſought *their* peace, when they my ruine; and it hath been *no* ſm
occaſion of my ſuffering that they on *his* foot who hath ſaved th
ſhould come to *ſplit*, which will be the *Conſequence*, the *Lord* ha
ſpoken *It*.

Newgate Priſon Briſtol *the* 25*th. of the* 8*th*
Moneth 665. *where I remain as a* Baniſhe
Perſon waiting who ſhall be my *Executioner*
therein.

GEORGE BISHOPE.

THE END.